Aside from this

work is building and repair, the only significant production 335
of the carpenters is the small chest used by housewives for 322
their goods. Almost every married woman has a collection 322
of "treasures," clothing, jewelry, glassware, and the like, 422
which dates from her wedding (it is, in fact, part of 95
her dowry, and a significant economic commodity as it may [383]
include a sizeable sum in gold), and which is displayed
on festive occasions. These goods are stored in wooden
chests, sometimes covered with sheets of tin, and always
brightly painted. Two shops in Rowanduz maintained by
carpenters display a large number of these, and there is
always a demand for them in the event of a wedding. The 412
carpenter's tools and equipment, mattocks, hammers, planes, [439]
chisels, nails, and so on, are almost all imported from
Europe or elsewhere in the Middle East. Wooden biers, and 322
occasionally coffins, for the dead are also made by the [364]
carpenters. Smaller items of wood, such as circles, are [359]
fashioned in the households of villagers.

The main work of the farriers and blacksmiths is 326
the shoeing of horses, mules, and donkeys. The govern- 231
ment veterinarian attends to the beasts of the civil [232]
service and army, but, although his services are available
to the townspeople, most prefer the farriers who, in
addition to their craft, are thought to be experts in
curing animal diseases. The workshops of both farriers and
blacksmiths, with their diminutive anvils and charcoal
fires, are within the bazar, and the shoeing of a donkey

352 [415] [271]

not invariable. The water-jug, with a glass tumbler turned down over its mouth, always stands beside the door.

513

During the heat of summer, almost all of the families of the town, rich and poor alike, sleep on their roofs, and the bedsteads and bedding are moved there for a time. Again, because of the necessity of sheltering the women from the gaze of outsiders, windbreaks of oak branches and brush are built up if the house itself does not afford suitable protection. Mosquito netting, the same material used in some of the garments of a bride and obtained from the cloth-sellers, is not used indoors, except to cover an infant's cradle, but is many times placed over the beds on the roof. In the wealthier homes everyone has an individual bed, while in those poorer the children sleep together in a tangle of blankets and quilts. Where a house contains more than a single couple, there is a necessary division of its sleeping quarters, because two couples do not customarily re-et in the same room nor should a couple occupy one with a male relative, an uncle or a brother. As a general rule, it might be stated that a woman never sleeps in the same room with any man other than her father, her brothers, her husband, and her sons. On the other hand, there seems to be little effort made to conceal sexual intercourse from the children, who, however, are either too sleepy or too well aware of it to find it of much interest.

[351]

352 513

[864]

833 864

The <u>diwankhana</u> or guest-room is mandatory for anyone of social pretension and is found in most cases on the first

353 574

white cotton trousers and shirts, similar to the under- 291
garments of adults, and the students like to add a cloth European jacket. The dress of the children of officials and officers is much like that of their Kurdish playfellows, at the same time more European in character, particularly for the boys who sometimes wear slacks and jackets. Almost all of the youth go barefoot a large part of the time, although sandals or shoes appear in the winter, usually without stockings. The infants and [854]
younger children are confined to the houses in extremely cold weather, and the problem for them does not exist. There is no specific time at which a youth or a maiden must put on adult attire. In the case of a girl, the parents insist on the veil whenever they feel the neighbors "might talk" if it was not worn. For the boys, the adulation of weapons has already been noticed, and is coupled with a similar feeling toward the clothing of chieftains and their bodyguards, warriors full-blown in the eyes of adolescence. Hence the mother is under considerable pressure to influence the father for money to deck out his son in adult clothing. The young Kurd who 186
follows a government career in the secondary schools and 291
colleges of the cities soon learns to sublimate such notions to the condemning adjective heladi, "rustic," although he may retain a certain admiration for the dashing garb of the heroes of his youth.

A Kurdish townsman usually washes his hands and face 515
at least once or twice each day. One of the ceremonials of 264

purchase bread which he distributes to his neighbors among 851
the townspeople. The ceremony for the first son is much
more extravagant than that held for girls and subsequent
male children. Twins are thought to be a blessing, "a 845
gift of God," and there is a "ceremony double in size" for
them. Albinism seems to be unknown in Rowanduz. Deformed 732
infants, if they survive, are kept within the house, and
their parents "thank God for them" just as with normal
children.

Infants are fed at the breast for a period of varying 853
length, from six to twenty-four months. Renewed pregnancy
requires weaning, because it is held that the milk is then
"unfortunate" for the first child. If the mother cannot
suckle her child, a wet-nurse is obtained, and she becomes, [608]
as noticed previously, its foster-mother, dirya, and the
child cannot marry one of her children in later life. The
wet-nurse remains in the home of the infant, and is sub-
sidized with money and food. In the event that a nurse
cannot be obtained, the child is fed with the fresh milk
of goats, sheep, or cattle. Infants are not nursed at
regular periods, but whenever the mother feels it is
necessary, nor are they suckled every time they cry. It 856
is said that "crying develops the voice," and they are
often left unnoticed in this respect for some length of
time.

The cradle is of wood, and consists of a flat wooden 854
bed raised between four flat legs which are curved to join 352
above it in two arches. The arches are connected by a

cross-piece, and the whole, with the infant bound in it, 954 ●
can be carried about easily by this last. The child is [352]
laid on a pad or mat and bound in the cradle with straps
of intricately woven and embroidered wool. A hollow piece
of cane is placed between the infant's legs whereby the
urine runs off, either on the earthen floor or into a tin.
In warm weather the cradle is covered by linen or gauze
to protect the baby from flies and mosquitoes. The cross- [751]
piece is always hung with charms against the evil eye,
verses from the Quran enclosed in cloth packets, pieces
of blue porcelain and drilled pebbles, and gilded orna-
ments. The infant's costume for both sexes is a simple 291
dress of brightly coloured material, sometimes with a 954
little apron. No undergarments are in use. The
shoulder of the dress is also pinned with charms, like
those mentioned above, or a round embroidered insignia,
much like a representation of a wagon-wheel.

A week or two after birth, the infant is named, 553
an event which is not marked in Rowandus by an elaborate 952
ceremony. A man of wealth invites his friends to attend,
and entertains them in the guest-room with light refresh-
ments. The mulla or priest is summoned, and the baby is
placed in his arms. He has been informed of the name
selected previously by one of the family. He holds the
child in such a way as to be able to speak into its ear.
He gently intones what was described in Rowandus as the imm
(Arabic, "creed," more correctly, the shahada, "testimony"

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Miniature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the town people, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the (blessed marriage) when the Kurdish.

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the shaikh's wife at Tapawra.

Parturition takes place in a sitting posture. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a milk pail, is placed on the floor between(s). Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour soon herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in Sirkan there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's house at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife. (See the first to be trained in Sulaimani?. At the time I was there this woman was about 30 years of age.

Births take place in one of the rooms of the home. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dohuk Govt Hos said me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord could be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynecologist at the hospital at Sulaimani told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her internal functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimani to seek medical attention. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynecologist.

In another case a woman in Sirkan continuing, with fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimani. The child, which was a few days old, would not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, naked, is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.00 m. x 1.00 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are bent up around the feet. The two upper

§46 §54 points of the triangle opposite the shoulders are crossed over the chest and the arms outstretched along the side of the body. The points are led round the child's back, arms, and return to the front where they are tied in a knot around the child's legs. The band is bound with two pieces of triangular material laid together. The one piece acts as a head-cloth, the other, outside, as a forehead bandage. Similar clothing for a new-born infant is also reported by Crawley[1] in the case of Arabs in Palestine.

The child then swaddled is placed on a shoulder, inverted grain sieve that's covered by a thin mattress. This constrains the child's head for the first seven days. This use of a grain sieve by the Kavirondo in Southern Kavirondo is referred to by Hildebrand[1], who says, however, that the child stays on the sieve 6, not 7, days, as it is especially at night that there is a danger that the evil spirits, will kill the mother and child. He also states that during these days neither the midwife nor the other women who have assisted must leave the house or remove the objects they have brought with them in connection with the birth[2]. A sieve as the child's first bed also in Iraq is mentioned by Donaldson, who says that it acts as a protective against a witch, who is blamed for the many deaths of infants just after birth[3]. Lane refers to the use of the sieve in Egypt, reporting that the child is well shaken in it, which is said to be good for its stomach[4]. Lane, whose information dates from the middle of the previous century, is supplemented by Blackman, who writes that the sieve used in Egypt is the large one employed when grain from the threshing floor is thrown against the wind to separate the chaff, and he states that on the seventh night, that is to say the night before the seventh day of life, the child is shaken in the sieve on which a few grains of corn have also been laid. The grain is thereafter consumed[5].

Lying-in can be confined to a single day or last as long as 30 days.

After the first week the sieve is replaced by a cradle, which in Kavirondo I found existed in three different types: transportable, hammock, and stationary.

§54 The first, transportable kind, *kyoka* (E. 2364) consists of a flat wooden bottom, 0.61 m. × 0.40 m., mounted between four legs, vertical wooden sticks, which above join, two by two, flat transverse wooden arches, and below join in pairs of transverse rockers. Above, the two wooden arches are connected with a heavy pole that runs along the cradle. With this pole the cradle can be carried. The wooden bottom has a low edge that serves to retain a mattress stuffed with cotton, *ghidi*, (E. 2365) 0.67 m. × 0.30 m. × 0.08 m. In both the wooden base and the mattress there is a hole near the centre, or there may be two holes, enabling the mattress to be turned and the head of the cradle to be arranged as either end at will. A pipe-shaped wooden object, *kikoh*, 0.23 m. long (E. 2349 and E. 2310) is put vertically down through the hole in the mattress and the base of the cradle. If for a male child there is a circular opening at the head of the pipe, if for a female an oval one. This retaining tube is carefully wound round with rags (E. 2312a-b) in order that it shall not be uncomfortable when pressed up between the baby's legs. The child lies outstretched on its back with a cylindrical pillow, *ukhi*, (E. 2366) 0.30 m. × 0.10 m. × 0.060 m. under the neck, and its arms extended along the body. In this position it is bound fast. This is done with two padded bandages, *dandia*, (E. 2368a-b) 0.10 m. broad and 0.60 m. long. At the one end of these bandages there are straps through which is pulled a heavy wooden cord (E. 2369c) that is stretched out along the one side of the cradle underneath from leg to leg. A wooden cord 2.60 m. in length ending in big wooden tassels (E. 2369a-b) is sewn on one end of each bandage. One bandage is passed over the child's arms and chest, the other across the

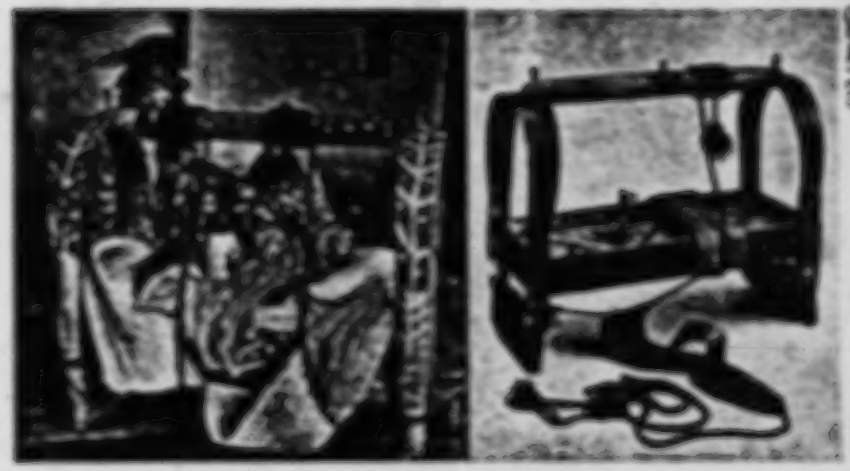

Fig. 84. Transportable cradle, Lyudha, arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a nightmat, Sukabumi.

Fig. 85. Transportable cradle (E. 2364) with bandages (E. 2365a-b) and cradle (E. 2365c-e). The cotton discharge pipe (E. 2143) placed upright in the hole in the bottom.

sickness and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[1]. A small rug is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or sack like could be hung under the cradle[2], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the manner on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, *ilfe*, could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, *pareda*, (E. 2367) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draughts. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag,

854

In order to move the baby, the mother squats down, tips the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose wives who makes the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a squatting position in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of padded cloth with a flounce. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child sees less than sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the head of the baby to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.138 m. high, class, about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, Ilda, (E. 2313b) 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, thus intended for a girl, is placed in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 66. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. 2313b) for a girl. Ambon. Wooden pipes, for boy (E. 2318) and for girl (E. 2311). Ambonese.

6 Ikonos E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

854
357
291

Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A mosquito net is hung over the transverse beam. Tegawra.

are a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the cushions, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uigurs, Ferghana[15]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[16].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rug is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 772) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.80 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wicker-work and a rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[17] and Georgians[18] in the Caucasus. Plate[19] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Boucher mentions

854
[191]

4: Nasseo E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

532
●854
172

Fig. 68. Fragment of saw-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 38). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish Ijwalla.

854
1971

that they can be taken on horseback[2], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[3] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Plow mentions its use in Iran[4]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbaks[5]. It is met with in Bukhara[6], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1948). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[7] and the Kirghiz[8].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 73-75). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[9]. Urine tubes (E. 2881-82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1948). Such "tubes à uriner en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[10], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[11] and from the Crimea by Lerman[12]. The Kirghiz[13] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Plow mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[14], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important factors. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz this feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[15], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lappe in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[16], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Americanians from the Algonkians in the north to the Amazonians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainu in the northern islands of Japan[17]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "spring type"[18] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish Ijwalla. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to divert the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[19]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

Ø Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

854 ● 191

equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Sabu people in Mandsuria[37]. With the Kalmuk a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal outlet tube "barge"[38] placed in the base. With the Tuhvi a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[39], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish *kwilla*[40].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, were in use in Bellila and Helelija, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[41]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a fold; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish *kwilla*, and is preferred when the child is ill[42]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held flat[43], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[44]. The Rowalla bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[45]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[46]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuaregs west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden base with two circular pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[47]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rug placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urin and excrement[48]. With the Rowalla bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[49].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[50]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4178) consisting of a stand in which hung a frame, cor-

Fig. 90. Indian cradle (D. 4178) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

●854 171

triangular in form with a flat wooden base and inclined sides, so that a crate results[1], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lors. It possesses features of both the transportable *kyelka* and the stationary frame cradle. The Loristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[2]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *kyelka*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

[171]

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the basket-work cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

854

In the Kurdish *kyelka* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

[532]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance.

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity ... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ...". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, lead-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[51].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 55 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 26 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[54]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kiż*. Muhammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, bids several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[55]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to